G-MEN ON THE CAMPUS: WALTER GERSTEL

THE Nation

January 30, 1954
20¢

First of Two Articles

by Norman Redlich

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

"Progressive" P. O. W. *Milton Lowenberg*

Old-Age Security *Eleanor G. Astor*

JAN 28 1954
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Letters

Of Mice and Men

Dear Sirs: It was with some irritation that I read the editorial Mice or Men in your January 2 issue. I agree in general with its main premise, but I would like to call your attention to what I consider some misrepresentation concerning the Arnold campaign in Los Angeles. We did not, as the writer said, keep "long-time residents of the district, whose regular participation as precinct workers for the Democratic Party began when George Arnold was in knee breeches," from aiding us in the campaign. We did not want the services of members of the Independent Progressive Party, who are hardly the same as registered Democrats.

I did a fair share of doorbell-ringing in the campaign, and I found the tooth-brush gimmick . . . a very effective door-opener. The pamphlet that went with it was a fair attack on the Communist economic system. . . . I'm afraid that there is a tendency among liberals to minimize the internal Communist threat, another bad effect of McCarthyism but one seldom mentioned in the liberal press.

New York LAWRENCE GREENSPAN

Dear Sirs: Your editorial Mice or Men points up the challenge which the Democratic Party faces. I live in Representative Robert Condon's district. He is the primary target here of the un-Americans seeking victory in 1954. The three local weekly papers carried the report of the Velde committee witness who saw Condon at a "closed Communist meeting," but only one of the papers—the Walnut Creek *Sun*—sent a reporter to get Condon's side of the story. In 1948 Condon, then secretary of the Democratic state Central Committee, did attend Progressive Party meetings, at the committee's own request, in order to persuade third-party members to back Democratic candidates. Condon explained that the witness before the Velde committee might have seen him at a Progressive Party meeting but never at a "closed Communist Party" affair.

Los Angeles TOM KENDALL

Dear Sirs: Please allow this registered but somewhat disillusioned Democrat of California to say "hallelujah" in response to your pertinent and penetrating editorial Mice or Men. It certainly behooves every liberal who is registered as a Democrat to read, ponder, and implement your every wise suggestions. I would especially commend them to some of our citizens here who aren't quite sure whether they are Democrats; else they would have no reason to change party registration.

Perhaps Gifford Phillips had this breed in mind in his *Frontier* editorial, Year of Decision for Democrats, when he stated: "There is, however, another kind of campaign where principles are sidestepped and victory at any price is sought." It would appear that the party of Jefferson, Wilson, Roosevelt, Truman, Stevenson is now reaping the fruits of this kind of practice in California. Could the change in political climate in Sacramento since the arrival of "eternal Knight" account for the return to the fold of some wandering, pseudo-liberals?

Los Angeles LESTER H. HAYES

Whipped Toothpaste

Dear Sirs: I did not see Allan Seager's piece, Our Dream of Comfort, in your December 12 issue but must take my place on his side in the matter of whipped potatoes. In our household we regard it as impossible to make whipped potatoes properly with an electric mixer. Only putting them through a ricer and whipping them with a fork will get the requisite amount of air into them. Made with a mixer, they are indistinguishable from the same amount of toothpaste.

MARGARET HALSEY

White Plains, N. Y.

Parole Denied

Dear Sirs: My sister, Mrs. Regina Frankfeld, is serving a two-year prison term imposed after she and five others, including her husband, were convicted in Baltimore under the Smith Act. Recently her application for parole was denied without any stated reason. Mrs. Frankfeld met all the technical requirements for parole: she had a good home to go to, a job was waiting for her, and there was no question as to her good behavior in prison.

Our hopes for her parole were high after a meeting with the parole board in Washington. Every member seemed sympathetic. The board was told about the uprooting of an entire family and the imperative need of Mrs. Frankfeld's daughter, aged ten, and her son, aged fourteen, to develop under a mother's care. The board also heard about my sister's ability to care for child victims of cerebral palsy, an ability for which she had been highly commended by the school authorities in Baltimore.

But despite the fact that the children are also separated from their father, who is serving a five-year sentence in Atlanta, the board saw fit to deny parole. Yet the same board did grant parole to William Dudley Pelley, the notorious leader of the Silver Shirts. . . .

New York ERNA MARTEL

The "New Critics"

Dear Sirs: It is hard to take seriously the characterization of the "New Criticism" as "authoritarian" in a brief book review in your January 2 issue. Whatever the social and economic views of some of those loosely grouped under the term "new critics," Kenneth Burke, William Empson, and a number of others are hardly authoritarian. Institutionally, the group was founded by rebels, some proudly without an academic degree, and its struggle for recognition and jobs is only now being won. As for an authoritarian tone in their writings, this is hardly a distinguishing trait.

Bloomington, Ind. DELL H. HYMES

"Socialism" in Seattle

Dear Sirs: As an example of "creeping socialism" I would like to call your attention to Seattle City Light. In 1904 this publicly owned utility turned the wheels of its first generator. It has not cost the taxpayers one cent. It has been paid for with its own revenues. It has given the people of Seattle rates far below the national average, at present about one-third of those charged by private utilities. In lieu of taxes it has paid into the city treasury a percentage of its gross receipts which probably equals or exceeds the taxes which would have been paid by any private utility operating in this area.

Once in its history City Light was under direct attack. A newly elected mayor who during the campaign carefully kept his intentions to himself promptly fired the founder of the system. In a matter of weeks a recall petition and a special election put the new mayor out on the street and J. D. Ross back in his old place at the head of City Light.

Seattle, Wash. E. G. STONE

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Volume 178, Number 5
New York, Saturday, January 30, 1954

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

Defeat in Victory

VISHINSKY'S veto in the Security Council last week produced the seemingly impossible: (1) victory for the Arab insistence on defeat of the West's resolution; (2) defeat for the Syrian claim that it had the right to exercise veto powers on the Jordan River canal; (3) presumptive freedom for Israel, in the absence of any resolution, to proceed with the completion of the canal; (4) displacement of the West from its role as protector of the Arabs; (5) intrenchment of the Soviet Union as the effective champion of the Arab position.

What happened represents the climax of the folly of the appeasement policy pursued by the United States, Britain, and France. It is this which gave the Russians the opportunity to chalk up a victory at no cost to themselves.

In October the Syrians, with the help of the Big Three, put on the agenda as an *urgent* item a complaint that Israel's building of a canal at Banat Ya'acov, about a mile of which lies in a demilitarized zone (although in Israel territory), violated the armistice agreement and Syrian rights. It was soon clear that the Syrian claims were specious. But the proposed council resolution, taking no sides, fell back upon the armistice agreement. Its operative paragraph called upon the Chief of Staff of the U. N. Truce Commission "to explore the possibilities of reconciling the Israeli and Syrian interests involved in the dispute over the diversion of the Jordan waters at Banat Ya'acov, including full satisfaction of the existing irrigation rights at all seasons while safeguarding the rights of individuals in the Demilitarized Zone, and to take steps in accordance with the armistice agreement as he may deem appropriate to effect a reconciliation." The Chief of Staff was given ninety days to report back on the execution of his commission.

Spurred by the belief that there was almost no price the West would not pay for Arab friendship, Syria insisted that no settlement of the dispute could be arrived at without its agreement. For this belief the West had only itself to blame. Had it not refused to make use of the Kibya tragedy to press for an Arab-Israel peace settlement? Had not the State Department withheld American appropriations for Israel to force the stoppage of work on the canal, only to reinstate them when Israel repeated to the Security Council the offer, not previously accepted by the Chief of Staff, to stop work in the demilitarized zone pending "urgent examination" by the Council? Had not the Big Three acquiesced in countless postponements of the issue at Arab request?

Syria's demand clearly contradicted the armistice provisions, which give the final vote to the Chief of Staff in the event of a disagreement. To satisfy the Syrians would inflict irreparable damage on the armistice machinery, which though obsolescent still remained the only barrier to the resumption of the Arab-Israel war. To this the West could not agree. Nor could the Big Three, looking to the future, afford to grant a veto on Middle East questions to any Arab state.

Mr. Vishinsky took up the cudgels in behalf of the Arabs, arguing that the settlement must be with the consent of both parties. Whether or not he would have exercised the veto, had the question been left within the narrow frame of an Israel-Syrian dispute, may well remain an historical question. On January 21, when the Security Council resumed the debate, the discussion broadened into a tug of war between the East and the West.

At this point the Lebanese delegate asked the Council to consider a new proposal should the three-power resolution fail. Jebb, calling for the vote, emphasized that there had been a great many consultations and that therefore "we are confident that when our draft resolution is put to the vote, it will be adopted." But at no time had the Russians been consulted. This shunting aside of Russia, one of the architects of the Palestine partition scheme, immediately aroused the ire of Vishinsky. In the end it produced his veto.

NOW that the Soviet Union has made the question of Syria's veto rights an issue between itself and the West, the Western powers have become hardened in their determination that the armistice agreement be scrupulously upheld—a position from which there is no likely retreat.

The defeat of the resolution is in itself not major. But its implications are. The Russians and the Arabs are challenging the authority of the Chief of Staff and of the armistice machinery. What could follow next, in the serious situation that exists, is a further breakdown. There is not much time left for the West to retrieve its errors. This it can do effectively only through an early and concerted effort to bring about discussions for a permanent peace settlement.

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In This Issue

EDITORIALS

Defeat in Victory 81

Model for a Purge? 82

ARTICLES

Old-Age Security: It's Still in Danger
by Eleanor G. Astor 83

Spies in Government:
I. The Bentley Story
by Norman Redlich 85

"Progressive" P. O. W.:
Corporal Smith's Story
by Milton Lowenberg 89

G-Men on the Campus:
The California Plan
by Walter Gerstel 93

BOOKS

Understanding Free India
by Santha Rama Rau 95

New Books in Brief 96

THEATER *by Harold Clurman* 98

RECORDS *by B. H. Haggin* 99

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 552
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 100

LETTERS opposite 81

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The Nation, January 30, 1954. Volume 178, No. 5

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1954, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc. 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representatives for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Model for a Purge?

SEVERAL recent developments give added importance to Walter Gerstel's article (page 93 of this issue) on the continuing effort of the Regents to intimidate the faculty and student body at the University of California.

Last month Harold Winkler, assistant professor of political science, made an off-campus speech to an open group at the Hillel Foundation in which, speaking of the idealistic motivations which had led some students to join Communist, Socialist, anarchist, or similar groups in the 1930's, he said that he would like to see the same spirit in the young people of this generation. Although there is some dispute as to his exact words, it is clear that he was talking about motivations rather than acts; he was certainly not urging students to join any particular group today.

Taking cognizance of the speech as reported in the *Daily Californian,* the Regents quickly ordered an investigation, several suggesting that if Winkler had been quoted correctly he should be promptly "fired." At the height of the controversy, the university administration announced that Winkler would not be reappointed, citing a faculty-committee recommendation made four months earlier and offering, apparently as its own, the explanation that he had not engaged in adequate research or published findings of a significant nature. Had he been reappointed for the academic year beginning July 1, Dr. Winkler would have attained full tenure.

REGARDLESS of the merits of the decision not to reappoint Winkler—although we must say that the university administration selected a most inappropriate time to announce it—the action of the Regents in ordering an investigation of an off-campus speech by a member of the faculty is an obvious attempt at intimidation. The intention is underscored by the determination to go forward with the investigation despite the fact that Winkler has not been reappointed. In effect, the investigation serves notice on every member of the faculty that he can be denounced, dismissed, and disgraced if a majority of the Regents take offense at a disputed report of an off-campus speech. Against the background of the celebrated Regents' oath controversy and the facts reported by Mr. Gerstel in this issue, it is apparent that a majority of the Regents have a fixed policy not merely —in the words of one protest—to "exterminate the questioning mind from the university, but also the vocal opposition to any policy announced by the authorities, both in and out of the university." The decision of the Regents to order an investigation has been vigorously protested by the local chapter of the American Association of University Professors and by the Non-Senate Academic Employees, a group of graduate students and research assistants on the Berkeley campus. Dr. Peter Odegard,

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chairman of the Department of Political Science, has not only protested the investigation but also the decision not to renew Winkler's appointment. "It is a sad thing," said Dr. Odegard, "that a very gifted teacher can be let out because he doesn't publish, but a poor teacher who does can be given promotion and tenure."

At the same meeting at which the Winkler investigation was ordered, the Regents postponed decision until next month on the question—pending for months—of whether back pay should be granted to the faculty members who refused to sign the ill-fated Regents' loyalty oath of 1949. It will be recalled that twenty-two faculty members refused to sign the oath which the California Supreme Court later found to be unconstitutional. The reluctance to award back pay to the non-signers who defended the principle of academic freedom not only flouts the spirit if not the letter of the Supreme Court's decision but is further evidence of the intention of the Regents to intimidate the faculty.

The question now arises: will the California plan described by Mr. Gerstel spread throughout the country? At a meeting of the American Council of Education held in Washington last October 9 considerable attention was devoted to a proposed plan under which educational institutions would do their own "house-cleaning of subversives" (New York *Times* October 10, 1953). Part of the plan included the establishment of "a central educational investigation service" which would cooperate closely with civil authorities and the F. B. I. in "aiding university authorities in fact-finding." From reports and communications which have come to us in recent months, *The Nation* has reason to believe that such a service has in fact already been set up and is being used by a number of Eastern colleges and universities to "screen and clear" academic personnel. This is, of course, the essence of the California plan.

Coming Next Week

In next week's issue J. Alvarez del Vayo, foreign editor, will report directly from Berlin on the Big Four foreign ministers' conference. In the same issue Keith Hutchison will analyze the tax and fiscal policies of the Eisenhower Administration, Norman Redlich will conclude his two-part series on Spies in Government, and one of the group of campus editors who have just visited Russia will write about the journey.

OLD-AGE SECURITY

It's Still in Danger . . *by Eleanor G. Astor*

IN A message to Congress on January 14 the President came forth with a six-point program for broadening social security without disturbing the present system set up by the New Deal. In effect, the President's recommendations would extend coverage to ten million more persons, bringing professional and self-employed people into the system; permit retired workers to earn more income than is now allowed; provide increased benefits for those already on the retirement rolls, for those who become totally disabled, and for people with uneven earnings.

The President's declaration that retirement benefits are an earned right of the American worker, not something to be confused with charity, represents a change in thinking from his proposals of last May. At that time he recommended that the social-security pay-roll tax, scheduled to rise to 2 per cent in January, 1954, be frozen at the existing 1½ per cent, which would have hobbled the growth of the existing reserve fund. Congress did not act, however, and the President dropped the idea. His present proposal seems to be an attempt to offset the undeniable anti-Republican trend in the country in this election year by urging basically sound improvements and extensions in social security.

Not all Republicans, however, agree with the President and his more astute advisers. It is no secret that the United States Chamber of Commerce and various other right-wing groups are opposed to any extension of social security just as they were to its introduction two decades ago. Last spring the Chamber recommended that the eighteen-billion-dollar social-security reserve fund be tapped to pay a pension of from $25 to $35 a month to the 2,600,000 aged persons who at present receive aid under the federal old-age assistance program. The idea behind the plan was to drain the existing reserve fund and put the entire social-security system on a pay-as-you-go basis. No more would be collected each year than was paid out in benefits.

As the social-security system is now set up, each employee pays a certain percentage of his income into the fund, and the employer matches his contribution. When the system was established by Congress eighteen years ago, the rate of pay-roll contributions was scheduled to increase gradually from 1 per cent on each group in 1940 until 1970, when it would level out at 3¼ per cent. Actuaries estimated, however, that around the

ELEANOR G. ASTOR is managing editor of the Advance, *the newspaper of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.*

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year 2025 pay-roll contributions from both employer and employee would have to rise to about 8½ per cent to pay the benefit liability. To bridge this eventual gap, Congress created a reserve fund made up of excess collections in social security's early years. This fund, now about $18,800,000,000, is invested in government bonds which yield about 2¼ per cent. The interest, growing as the fund grows, will finance the system roughly into perpetuity. In this way a contributory system was established on a financially sound and self-sustaining basis.

UNDER A pay-as-you-go system the pay-roll tax would be smaller at first than under the present plan, but it would steadily rise, since there would be no reserve fund and hence no interest to help pay rising costs. Just how high it would rise the proponents of pay-as-you-go have never bothered to figure out. Their immediate concern is to keep the rates down for the employers and to keep the benefits down for the workers. Their reasoning was stated clearly in the *Journal of Commerce* just a few days after the President's message in an article entitled How Much Social Security? "The sooner the social-security program is placed on a pay-as-you-go basis, the better," the article said. "So long as a huge reserve fund exists, there will be pressures to step up benefits in all directions. Also, there will be constant agitation to liberalize federal and state assistance plans."

When this new plan was proposed, Dr. Edwin Witte, the former director of the late President Roosevelt's Committee on Social Security, and others who had first-hand experience in the matter were quick to see through the altruistically couched proposals. They estimated that any pay-as-you-go plan enacted by Congress in 1953 would mean a pay-roll contribution for employer and employee as high as 8 per cent by the year 2000, when people now entering industry would be eligible for benefits. Dr. Witte termed the plan "a hand-to-mouth system" which would dissipate the present social-security fund and place the people who have paid into it in the position of having to ask for a dole to keep them alive after retirement.

Both the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor lashed out against this "wolf-in-sheep's-clothing proposal" which would endanger future old-age benefits. And a representative of the American Public Welfare Association pointed out that the aged now on public-assistance rolls would also suffer, since 86 per cent of them get more than the proposed $35, 61 per cent more than $40, and 46 per cent more than $50. The reactionary business interests were evidently counting on the fact that very few of the 66,000,000 Americans covered by social security know anything about its complex mechanism and that a Republican-dominated Congress would enact the proposal into law.

Not only did the United States Chamber of Commerce dose out anti-social-security propaganda in large quantities, but last November a House Ways and Means subcommittee was appointed to "study" social security with a view to discrediting the present system. The subcommittee was headed by Carl T. Curtis, Republican from Nebraska, who once called social security "unmoral." Trying to find holes in the present program, the subcommittee probers used a million dollars of the taxpayers' money to investigate among other things the accuracy of the Census Bureau's long-range population forecast.

The results of the study have not yet been released, but a bill introduced by Curtis on the opening day of Congress went the Chamber of Commerce one better. Where the Chamber recommended $25-a-month pensions to persons who cannot meet the minimum eligibility requirements in the present law, Curtis proposed a $45 pension for all people more than sixty-five, regardless of need. According to former Social Security Commissioner Arthur J. Altmeyer, "the Chamber's plan would take a billion and three-quarters dollars out of the O. A. S. I. trust fund and the Curtis plan about two and three-quarter billion dollars."

The net effect of both proposals would be to shift the cost of public assistance from general taxes, based on the ability to pay, to pay-roll taxes taken from the earnings of the workingman. Such pay-as-you-go proposals would at first save the wage-earners a few cents a week, and that only temporarily, but they would save big corporations millions of dollars annually.

Actually the right and duty of a community to protect all of its members is inherent in the American tradition and has never been open to question. But it took the depression of the early 1930's to wake the country up to the fact that new ways had to be found "to provide for the general welfare" in an industrialized civilization. As President Roosevelt told the nation in his message to Congress in 1934, "security was attained in the earlier days through the interdependence of members of families upon each other and of families within a small community upon each other. The complexities of great communities and of organized industry makes less real these simple means of security. Therefore, we are compelled to employ the active interest of the nation as a whole through government in order to encourage a greater security for each individual who composes it. This seeking for a greater measure of welfare and happiness does not indicate a change in values. It is rather a return to values lost in the course of our economic development."

THE FIRST social-security law was passed in 1935. It provided for coverage of only $24 a month for single retired workers and contained many loopholes. But it provided a way for pooling our resources to ease the financial situation of the aged. The system was substantially improved during the Eighty-first and the Eighty-second Congress, so that today almost 80 per cent of the civilian labor force—including all workers in manufacturing industries—is covered. But benefits under Old Age Security Insurance are still not sufficient to provide minimum support without additional income or aid.

Realizing that the benefits were subminimum, unions began to establish retirement pensions and after World War II began a drive for supplemental pension plans through collective bargaining. While they have had some success, only about 16 per cent of the labor force is covered, according to C. I. O. *Economic Outlook* statistics. The *Outlook* says, "Of the nine million over sixty-five who are retired and without income from current work, only about 500,000 are receiving benefits under private plans or are the wives of men receiving such benefits."

According to the year-end report of the Social Security Administration ap-

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proximately $3,900,000,000 was paid out by the O. A. S. I. trust fund in 1953. In December, 1953, 5,970,000 persons were receiving benefits under O. A. S. I. Of this number 3,250,000 were retired workers; 885,000 were retired wives with dependent husbands or wives with minor children in their care; 16,000 were minor children receiving survivors' benefits; 563,000 were widows and dependent parents; 252,000 were widowed mothers with children under their care. For those on the rolls in 1953 the average monthly benefit for a retired worker with a wife under sixty-five was $49; for one with an older wife, $84.75. A total of $111 was paid to a widow with two minor children, a far from adequate sum.

If the benefit system remains unchanged, those on the rolls will receive somewhat higher benefits in the future, as a result of larger incomes in recent years and amendments to the law adopted in 1950 and 1952. However, the amount falls far short of what is required to live on. The Federal Security Agency's budget released in the early part of last year said an elderly couple required about $160 a month at the then current prices. The cost of living is of course higher now.

Where there were only 3,000,000 Americans over sixty-five in 1900, there are 13,000,000 today. The number is constantly expanding for two reasons: population increase and a longer life span due to progress in medical science. At the same time, personal incomes are not high enough in relation to the cost of living to permit the savings necessary for old-age security. According to a 1951 Federal Reserve Board survey a large number of families find it impossible to save any money at all. Thirty-two per cent of the nation's spending units spent more than their earnings in 1950 and 7 per cent were just able to break even. The situation is unquestionably as bad or even worse today.

The C. I. O. Social Security Committee, meeting in a one-day session on January 21, decided that although "in some respects" the President's proposals "go farther than his party has been willing to move in the past," the C. I. O. would seek "more substantial gains than the President has suggested" for social security. The committee chairman, Joseph Curran, lashed out against three major weaknesses in the President's proposals —weaknesses which he said are remedied in the Lehman-Dingell bill introduced in the last session of Congress. The C. I. O. demands (1) higher benefits and greater improvements for aged people and survivors, (2) monthly payments and rehabilitation service for persons under sixty-five who have chronic illness or long-time disability, (3) substantial cash benefits for the temporarily sick and disabled. The President's proposals, the C. I. O. feels, are "clearly a response to the widespread public apprehension that the Republican foes of social security would scuttle the present system, and to a strong popular demand for thoroughgoing improvements in our social system."

With an election around the corner, the President's proposal and the way it was received in Congress appeared to lay at rest for a while the plans of the Chamber of Commerce and of Curtis. Reactionary interests, however, will not give up the fight, despite their weakened position.

SPIES IN GOVERNMENT

I. The Bentley Story . . *by Norman Redlich*

[*This is the first of two articles by a member of the New York bar who was co-author with Laurent B. Frantz of the widely read Does Silence Mean Guilt? in the June 6, 1953, issue of* The Nation. *The second, dealing with the Jenner committee's report on subversives in government, will appear next week.*]

SPY-HUNTING is obviously a more potent political weapon than witch-hunting. Unearthing a professor who has written a left-wing book or an editor who was once a member of the Young Communist League may make a headline, but their heresies can hardly be blamed on the party in power. However, if it can be proved that four successive Democratic administrations knowingly harbored espionage agents, and in some cases even promoted them to high office, the political rewards are promising enough to tempt even a Republican Attorney General.

Two relatively recent events indicate that the G. O. P. is determined to make spies in the government a major issue in next fall's election campaign. The first was the Jenner committee's report of last July on "Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments," which the Republican National Committee has since helped to make an all-time Congressional best-seller. The second, which dovetailed with it, was the White case. Where the Jenner report was designed to establish that spy rings did exist in the two past Democratic administrations, the White case was developed in a way to show that these administrations knew they existed and were lax—if not worse—in dealing with them.

The clear purpose of both these Republican-engineered coups was to link the domestic and foreign policies of the last twenty years with Communist spies in the government. The attempt to blame the loss of China on espionage agents is not new. The Jenner report went much farther and alleged that espionage agents had controlled the National Labor Relations Board, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the W. P. A., the National Recovery Administration, the Treasury Department, and of course the State Department.

They colonized key committees of Congress, they helped write laws, conduct Congressional hearings, and write Congressional reports. They advised

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Cabinet members, wrote speeches for them, and represented them in intergovernmental conferences. They staffed interdepartmental committees which prepared basic American and world policies; they traveled to every country as emissaries and representatives of the American people. They attended virtually every international conference.

How have the Democrats answered this charge? They have pointed to their own anti-Communist investigations, to the tremendous growth of the F. B. I. during their regime, and to the number of convictions of Communists obtained by Democratic attorneys general. At the same time many Democratic leaders have vigorously attacked McCarthyism and the methods of the Congressional investigations. But no prominent political figure has questioned the premise upon which the entire espionage controversy rests: no one has asked whether the accused men were guilty. Herbert Brownell's statement on the White case to the Jenner committee—that "the basic facts of the two spy rings which existed in the government at that time have been fully exposed in court and before Congressional committees"—has gone unchallenged even though only one of the accused men, Alger Hiss, has been convicted on charges that involved the passing of information to the Russians. Such a definite accusation as "fully documented espionage" should be accompanied by evidence to support it, and that evidence should be evaluated on its merits. If it is not so evaluated the position of those who would fight McCarthyism is seriously undermined. It is hard for the American people to believe that investigations which have uncovered scores of proved spies are bad.

ONLY A LIMITED analysis of the evidence can be presented here. It is impossible to discuss all the testimony given before all the committees. But the story of Elizabeth Bentley and the report of the Jenner committee should be examined, for they are the twin foundations of the current espionage charges. Admittedly, an outsider does not have access to secret F. B. I. files or have knowledge of the wire-tap evidence to which Mr. Brownell alluded in his recent testimony. But Mr. Brownell has made it plain that his case does not rest on secret testimony but on evidence which has been placed before the public.

Of course [he said] if the basic facts of these two spy rings had not been well established by previous court procedure and by Congressional committees, I would not have proceeded as I did. . . . I fully realize these grave responsibilities which I have as chief law-enforcement officer of this nation not to use confidential reports in my possession to disclose charges against individuals except through established court procedures.

Eric

Harry Dexter White

Those of us in the Department of Justice will never violate that basic concept of American jurisprudence.

But the White case, of course, is not that situation. The basic facts of the two spy rings which existed in the government at that time have been fully exposed in court and before Congressional committees. This subcommittee recently published a very excellent report documenting those facts.

If Mr. Brownell stands on the evidence now available, that evidence should be evaluated, but not with a view to proving the innocence of the persons named. Innocence cannot be proved. No man could show in an affirmative way that he did not pass documents. It is entirely possible that all Miss Bentley's alleged associates in espionage are guilty of betraying their country, but if due process of law is to have any meaning, we must start with the assumption that these men are innocent and then consider the evidence offered to show they are guilty. I do not contend that the evidence need be of such nature as to withstand the test of guilt established by our criminal courts. For example, if a documented case of espionage has been presented against an individual, the public should not be expected to refrain from drawing conclusions of guilt merely because prosecution might be barred by the statute of limitations. Impartial observers should ask themselves whether sufficient credible evidence has been presented to lead reasonable men to conclude that the accused individuals were spies for a foreign power.

Furthermore, one cannot stress too strongly the fundamental concept that guilt is individual, not collective, a concept often ignored in an age when the identification of a group as subversive is far easier than the proof of individual guilt. Individuals' lives and careers are at stake in this controversy. If only one of the many people named were innocent, our system of justice would be violated if the evidence against each of the accused were not examined separately.

Finally, if a charge of espionage is to be maintained, it must be shown that the accused persons engaged in certain acts with the intent to transmit information to a foreign power. The element of intent in our law is a vital one. Thus a government employee who passes information to a person who claims to be a research worker may be guilty of gross negligence, sufficient to justify his removal, but the fact that this information may have reached the Russians does not make a stupid act a treasonable one.

DESPITE THE CLAIM of "fully documented espionage," a careful study of the available evidence reveals that it consists almost exclusively of the testimony of one person, Elizabeth Bentley. First made public in 1948, this testimony has since been repeated many times at committees hearings, in books, and in magazine articles, and was the basis of the Jenner report. Miss Bentley's story, briefly, is this:

She joined the Communist Party in 1935 and performed routine organizational work until 1938. Then she was told to "take [her] orders" from a man called "Timmy," whose real name was Jacob Golos. In a series of articles for the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* Miss Bentley has described Golos as "one of the three men on the feared and powerful central commission of the American Communist Party, a member of the Russian secret police, and one of the first 'contacts' for the Washington espionage agents." The relationship between Miss

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Bentley and Golos was not confined to espionage: "He was the only man with whom I ever fell deeply in love and who loved me as dearly." Late in 1939 Miss Bentley began to act as a contact agent for Jacob Golos, but not until 1941 did she undertake what she describes as "the Washington phase of my undercover work for the Communists." Her job was to be the link between Golos and the espionage groups which she alleges were operating within the government. She is specific in the description of her duties:

> It was my job . . . to collect stolen secrets from American agents and transmit them directly to representatives of the Russian secret police here. . . . These American agents were everywhere. In the most sensitive war-time bureaus, in the army, in the air force, State Department, Treasury Department, and the White House itself. . . . I saw the documents they stole. I listened to the secret information they transmitted verbally. I collected the Communist Party dues from many of them. I carried them their orders from their Soviet superiors. I was the watchdog set over them to keep them in line and to spur them on to greater espionage.

According to Miss Bentley, four distinct espionage rings were operating in Washington. Nathan Gregory Silvermaster headed the group that is supposed to have included Harry Dexter White and Lauchlin Currie. A second group was headed by Victor Perlo and included officials in the War Production Board, Office of Strategic Services, and UNRRA. A third group she described as connected in some way with Alger Hiss. She learned about the fourth group "from a man whose sole function was to know about the activities of these groups." She admits that she herself had no direct contact with the third and fourth groups.

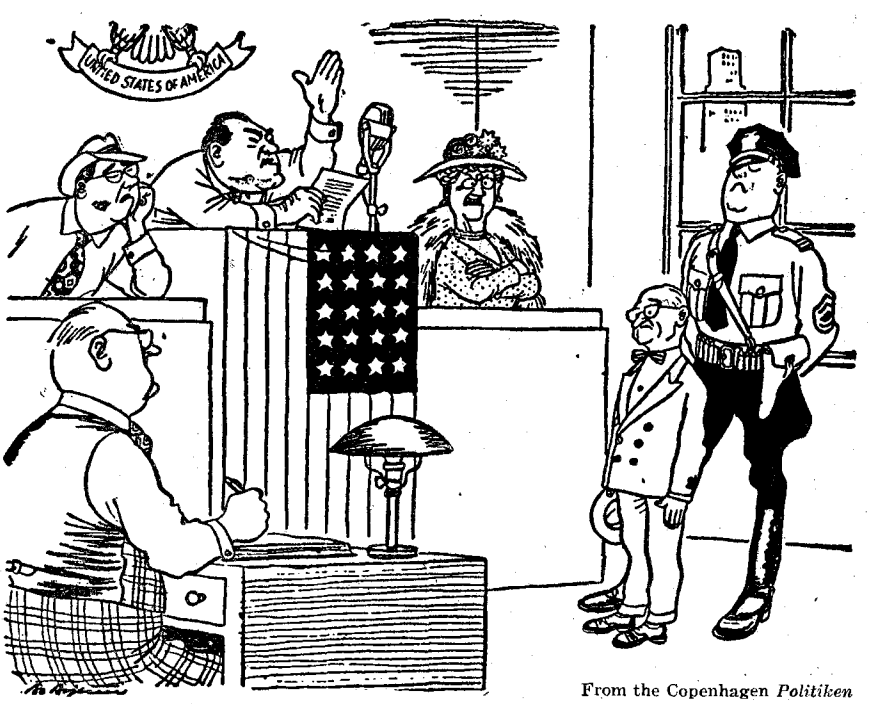
In Miss Bentley's account she went to Washington every other week to "pick up [her] bi-weekly haul of stolen documents," which were being channeled to her probably through Silvermaster and Perlo, the alleged leaders of the two rings which she controlled. After Golos died in November, 1943, she continued to act as espionage courier under the direct supervision of Earl Browder. By the summer of 1945 she decided to quit. "I could no longer serve my Soviet masters," she writes. "I knew I must tell my whole story to the F. B. I." This she did in August, 1945, in New Haven, Connecticut, repeating her evidence later in the same year to F. B. I. agents in New York City. This testimony was the basis of the famous secret F. B. I. memorandum of November 25, 1945, which first named Harry Dexter White and eighty other persons, including thirty-seven government employees, as Russian spies—a memorandum sent to several government departments and to the White House.

Miss Bentley declares she was advised at that time to continue her contacts under F. B. I. supervision. How long she did so is not clear. Throughout 1946 and the early part of 1947 the F. B. I. quietly investigated her story and kept the accused government employees under surveillance. In the spring and summer of 1947 Miss Bentley was called before a special grand jury, where she repeated her charges without any indictment resulting.

A YEAR LATER, in 1948, the House Un-American Activities Committee summoned Miss Bentley for questioning. She has been a star witness before various committees ever since. When J. Edgar Hoover appeared before the Jenner committee last November, he said of her: "She has been subjected to the most searching of cross-examinations; her testimony has been evaluated by juries and reviewed by the courts and has been found to be accurate." His defense of her testimony was essential to sustain the charge of espionage. A discredited Miss Bentley would discredit his case.

However, the proof of her credibility cited by Mr. Hoover does not exist. So far, her testimony has led to the indictment and conviction of only one man, William Remington, who was charged not with espionage but with perjury, and the perjury counts did not involve espionage activities. Neither in this case nor in any other was Miss Bentley subjected to "searching cross-examination" with regard to the thirty-odd other government employees she had named as spies. Thus the record shows that the one public case in which her story was questioned did not involve espionage, and that her testimony in regard to espionage has therefore never been evaluated by a trial jury or reviewed by a court. The grand juries which have heard it have failed to return a single indictment for espionage.

In reading Miss Bentley's testimony one is struck by the fact that, even if true, it leaves wide open the question of the guilt of some of the persons she accuses. Miss Bentley, it must be remembered, did not have direct access to all the alleged spies. She has written, "It was an inflexible rule that our American agents have as little to do as possible with their superiors in the conspiracy."



From the Copenhagen *Politiken*

"The committee has learned that the witness, Harry S. Truman, on July 21, 1945, had breakfast in Potsdam with a leading Communist named Joseph Stalin."

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Many of the men were on her list of suspected Russian spies only on the say-so of those with whom she did have direct contact. These agents may, of course, have told her the truth, but it is equally possible that they were trying to impress her by exaggerating the number of their high-level sources. The great danger of this type of hearsay evidence, and the chief reason why courts restrict its use, is that it is not subject to cross-examination or verification. To believe that all those persons named by Miss Bentley are guilty is to believe not only the lady herself but those whom she has accused of being unscrupulous spies.

AGAIN, even if Miss Bentley's story is true, it fails in many instances to establish the important element of intent. On November 8, 1945, shortly after Miss Bentley first talked to the F. B. I., J. Edgar Hoover sent a letter to Major General Harry Vaughan, Truman's aide, which said in part, "At the present time it is impossible to determine exactly how many of these people had actual knowledge of the disposition being made of the information they were transmitting. . . . I am continuing vigorous investigation for the purpose of establishing the degree and nature of the complicity of these people in this espionage ring." This letter was made public by Mr. Brownell when he appeared before the Jenner committee last November. Mr. Hoover, following Mr. Brownell on the stand, failed to indicate how his doubts were resolved. The question must be answered before a case can be made.

What does Miss Bentley say about this? She recently wrote in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* "These agents . . . were not professional paid spies. They were men who knowingly—or with minds deliberately closed against recognition of this knowledge—acted as spies on 'ideological' grounds." But it is clear from earlier testimony that she could not have been referring to all the men whom she has accused. Under cross-examination during the trial of William Remington she said, "No one in the Perlo group was actually told that the information was going to Russia." Remington swore that Miss Bentley had posed as a research worker, an excellent disguise for a spy. Perhaps she approached people with left-wing sympathies and induced them to give her information which might not even have been secret. In Remington's case she actually admitted that he became less willing to see her after he began to suspect that the information was going to Russia.

Before a Congressional committee this type of evidence is rarely elicited; one cannot expect the chief counsel of an investigating committee to question a star witness in the same way as a defense counsel would question witnesses in a criminal case. But it is precisely this defect in the investigative process that make it difficult for an observer to draw conclusions of guilt on the basis of testimony before a Congressional committee.

Thus far, we have assumed the truth of Miss Bentley's story. Her testimony, however, has many puzzling aspects which raise serious doubts as to its complete reliability. The most bothersome question concerns the lack of corroboration. The chronology of the revelation of her story is significant. The F. B. I. first received a brief outline of her espionage activities in August, 1945. In November, 1945, she told her story in detail to the F. B. I. in New York. She has said in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* "I recited in detail the story of my years in the Communist movement and in the spy underground and was advised to continue my contacts under F. B. I. supervision. The unmasking of the gigantic conspiracy got under way." It was not until 1947, more than a year later, that the people on her list had any idea she had become an informer.

IF MISS BENTLEY had close contact with as many government employees as she maintained she did and if they were transmitting hundreds of secret documents to her, it is strange that during 1946 and part of 1947, when she was apparently acting as an F. B. I. counter-spy, she was not able to provide some corroborative evidence against the accused men. One searches the Jenner report in vain for an indication of solid documentary evidence to support her charges of espionage. Miss Bentley apparently continued her relations with the accused men after she turned their names over to the F. B. I. Why does the Jenner report contain nothing about their activities during the year when they were under surveillance which would in some way substantiate her story? Perhaps such evidence exists somewhere; it is needed to dispel reasonable doubts.

The strangest aspect of Miss Bentley's story, however, is that she was able to carry on her espionage activities at all. Consider the circumstances. She claims that she traveled from Washington to New York every two weeks with documents that had been reduced to 35-mm. film in the basement of Silvermaster's home. She carried an average of forty rolls of film on each trip. Jacob Golos, to whom she gave the film, had been the owner of World Tourists, Inc., a business which was apparently engaged in securing false passports for Communist leaders, including Earl Browder. The records of World Tourists were seized in October, 1939, and Golos himself was indicted in March, 1940, for failing to register as a foreign agent. At the same time he was accused by Attorney General Murphy of being engaged in espionage for Soviet Russia. Golos pleaded guilty to the charge of failing to register as a foreign agent, was fined $500, and sentenced to four months in jail, but was immediately placed on probation.

For about three years after Golos had been exposed as a Soviet agent, Miss Bentley, by her account, traveled regularly to and from Washington, met with government employees, and transmitted documents to this same Golos. After his death in 1943, she asserts she worked under the direct supervision of Earl Browder, whose name was synonymous with communism. She herself had become an executive of World Tourists and of the United States Service and Shipping Corporation, which Golos had organized to perform some of the activities of World Tourists.

The obvious question arises: Where was the F. B. I. during this entire period? When Miss Bentley told her story in New Haven in 1945, it came as a complete surprise. It seems incredible that a person who was maintaining an intimate relationship with a convicted Russian agent and serving as an executive of a business known to have secured false passports for Communists could make bi-weekly trips to Washington to receive rolls of film undetected by the F. B. I. Acceptance of Miss Bentley's story requires acceptance of an incredible degree of laxity on the part of our federal law-enforcement officials.

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"PROGRESSIVE" P. O. W.

Corporal Smith's Story . . . *by Milton Lowenberg*

Memphis, Tennessee

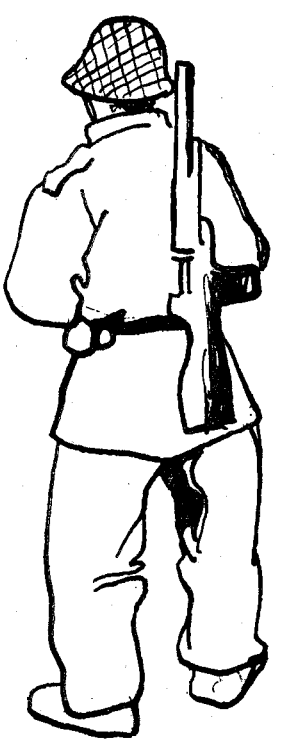
FORMER Corporal Bennie Smith is one of the self-acknowledged "progressive" P. O. W.'s who were shipped home from Panmunjom during Operation Big Switch and received an honorable discharge from the army. Much has been written about his case, but in his opinion little of it conveyed an accurate picture of his political position or of his experience in Communist prison camps. This article, written after numerous interviews with him at his home here, is basically *his* story.

Born in West Point, Mississippi, in 1929, Bennie grew up in a working-class neighborhood in Memphis, a quiet religious boy who kept out of trouble. After finishing the eighth grade he had to quit school, and he went to work for a barge company on the Mississippi River. He joined the army just in time to be eligible for the benefits of the G. I. bill and was inducted July 4, 1947. He received armored-division training, became an army photographer, and later, in Japan, was sent to surgery school.

An incident at surgery school indicates that the ideas he held later cannot be blamed entirely on Chinese indoctrination. A few days before the Korean hostilities broke out, two South Korean officers visited the school and in the course of an inspection asked Bennie if he believed the United States would come to their aid should North Korea attack. "Certainly not," he told them. "Why should we interfere in your civil war?"

At the time of his capture by Chinese Communists on November 27, 1950, he was attached as a medic to Company C of the 65th Engineer Combat Battalion. The prisoners were taken to a place known as the Valley. Conditions were miserable. They were in constant danger of bombing and strafing by U. N. planes, dysentery was widespread, and supplies for both the P. W.'s and their captors were irregular. The Chinese made a big point of explaining that international law forbade them to take prisoners of war across the Yalu where conditions were better. About a month and a half later the prisoners were moved to nearby Camp 5. Food and living conditions immediately improved and got progressively better during the rest of their stay.

MUCH HAS BEEN written about the indoctrination, the brain-washing, the pressures exerted to make the prisoners parrot the Communist line. Bennie's version of the events bears little resemblance to these tales. Shortly after their arrival in the camp, a club was organized and various committees set up—a library committee, recreation committee, mess committee, camp-affairs committee, and sanitation committee. All were run by the P. W.'s. There were facilities for ping-pong, cards, checkers—including Chinese checkers, which Bennie was surprised to learn really is a Chinese game—chess, and pool. On holidays a raw liquor could be obtained. Food, particularly in the later months, was plentiful; the preparation as good as the G. I. cooks could make it.



The battle for the prisoners' minds was begun with the famous "political orientation" lectures, at which attendance was compulsory. In the beginning the men did not object to going to these lectures. On the contrary, many were really interested, particularly in the discussions which followed. As the lectures became repetitious or more involved, enthusiasm waned, but attendance was still compulsory. The Chinese said that if it was made voluntary, those who continued to listen might be persecuted by the others. The American P. W.'s, "progressive" and "reactionary" alike, felt this fear was groundless. It was primarily the "progressives," Bennie says, who convinced the Chinese that it would be better to let the men go to the lectures or not, as they chose. After that, attendance varied with the speakers and the subject under discussion. When the Communist reporters, Burchett and Winnington, were scheduled to speak, practically the whole camp would turn out. Bennie himself was one of those who continued to listen, but he said there were many times when he chose to go fishing rather than hear some obscure point in Marxian dialectics hashed over.

His reading was not by any means limited to Communist writings. The library was well stocked, with a strange assortment of literary classics and revolutionary propaganda. Among the authors Bennie literally devoured in his search for the education that had escaped him in civilian life were Shakespeare, Tom Paine, Darwin, and Hegel. He read hundreds of novels by such authors as Dreiser, Upton Sinclair, Erskine Caldwell, London, Steinbeck, Mark Twain, Tolstoy, Dickens, Scott, Jules Verne, and Ehrenburg.

In time, however, pressures built up

MILTON LOWENBERG is a free-lance writer.

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J. Francis McComas in the New York Times

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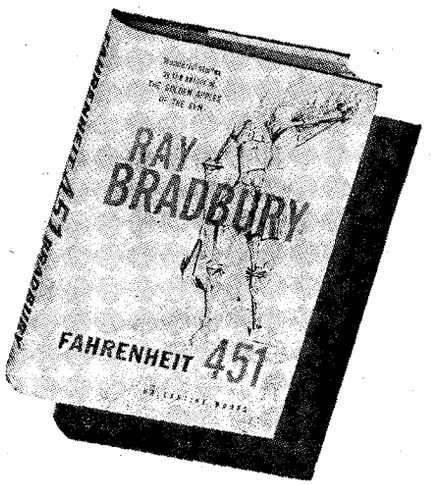

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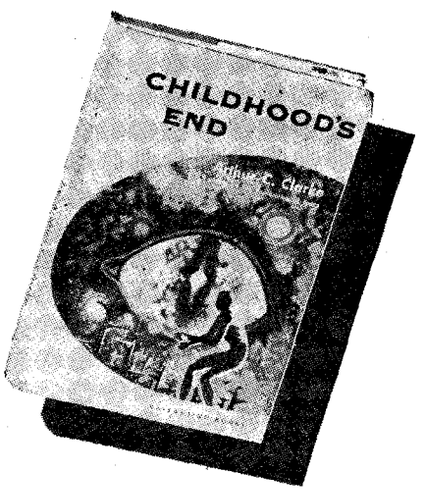

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against those who continued to attend lectures or who wanted to read and study. "For one thing," says Bennie, "a lot of guys got scared when they began to learn things about our country that they never knew before—about political persecution and the like. Guys who had been hot pro's at the beginning, signing petitions, making broadcasts and all, started weakening. The more the Chinese talked about McCarthy, or the Smith Act, or the K. K. K., or the reactionary press, the less they cared to be seen attending classes. Then there were the fascist-minded who tried to intimidate others, though there weren't many of these. Few of the guys we called reactionaries were in this category." "In fact," Bennie admitted, "a lot of them were real close buddies of mine. They weren't bad guys; they just didn't like books."

The ones who became most convinced by Marxian ideas were not necessarily those who decided to refuse repatriation. Bennie reports that the Chinese tried to convince the "progressives" that the best service they could render the cause of peace would be to go home and speak out for the "truth." Those who elected to stay, Bennie said, were a mixed lot. A few were hardly left of center but were afraid to go home knowing they had been branded pro-Communist in camp. Others were convinced Communists who felt their choice would be good propaganda—show the world there were Americans who preferred the Communist world to the United States brand of democracy. Still others simply liked the Chinese and wanted to live among them.

Bennie thinks he was given pretty fair treatment by the army at the time of the "big switch." He was appalled, on the other hand, by the way the press handled him. "They made us feel stupid, like we were nothing but kids," he recalls. One reporter felt his arms and legs and commented, "They sure starved you, didn't they, boy? Step right up here to the mike and tell the folks out there how they starved you. Folks, this boy really looks bad." Bennie was so taken aback that all he could say was, "I just haven't had much appetite."

ON HIS RETURN to Memphis he was royally greeted by family, friends, press, and TV, but in his first extended interview he ran into trouble. The afternoon *Press-Scimitar*—like the morning *Commercial Appeal* a Scripps-Howard paper—sent over two reporters to get a human-interest story on the contrast between the comforts of Memphis and the tortures of a Communist prison. Bennie's honest answers took them by surprise. They managed to garble the facts into an atrocity headline, but on the whole reported his views fairly. In this interview Bennie said that he considered his treatment by the Chinese good, and that he could report no atrocities. This was enough to bring him a number of threatening telephone calls and letters. In a talk at the Sertoma Club, a business men's organization, he said he believed capitalism was not perfect and that there were many things we could learn from the Communists. The business men did not seem to be shocked, but the local press was. About this time the *Life* story appeared.

A reporter from the *Commercial Appeal,* Paul Molloy, caused him his biggest worries. Molloy won Bennie's cooperation by saying that if he did not get his story with Bennie's help, he would manage it anyway, with the implication that it would be much worse. The story was blown up into a series which began on the front page of the Sunday edition and ran for seven days. The initial headline set the pitch: "Memphis Boy in Foe's Hands Turned from American Ideals; Swung to 'Progressive' Ways." Bennie, Molloy wrote, became "responsive to the very things Americans have died to destroy. . . . He turned his gaze toward a way of life strange in America—strange, evil, and powerful." Molloy charged further that Bennie "came home with new, un-American ideas" and hinted that "at the end of the road there may even lie treason."

Aghast at the charges and at the terroristic warnings he was receiving by telephone and mail, Bennie went to see Lucius Burch, a Memphis corporation lawyer, to ask if he had a case for libel. Burch, who has frequently taken civil-rights cases, helped him draft a letter to the *Commercial Appeal* in which he denied that he had strayed from American ideals but reiterated that he thought the capitalist system needed improvement. This did not mean he leaned toward communism, he insisted. He informed the paper of his intent to sue if the series continued in the same vein. Molloy toned down the succeeding articles to remove the possibility of a libel suit, but the victory was a purely legal one. Instead of charging Bennie with "turning from American ideals," Molloy now said he had a "changed, distorted perspective about the American way of life." As proof he quoted Bennie's statements that he believed a people which chose the Communist path had a right to do so and that the American Communist Party should not be outlawed. A clear "admission of guilt" was found in Bennie's belief that fascism was a greater danger to America than communism; that showed "he was anti-fascist not anti-Communist."

The end of the series brought a new avalanche of threats, accusations, and unsolicited advice. His mother hoped he would see the truth through the church of God. Others suggested he prove his loyalty by going to work for the F. B. I. The V. A. hospital sent him to a psychiatrist.

BENNIE WANTS to go to college on the G. I. bill, but it seems he cannot get credit for high-school courses taken in the army. His chances of being accepted in a school or of getting a job, he feels, have been prejudiced by all the adverse publicity. Nor is the publicity over: he has been told a big national weekly is

New A. P. Service?

According to press reports Claude J. Batchelor, American war prisoner in Korea who at first resisted repatriation, was finally persuaded to change his mind by his Japanese wife, who wrote him ardent letters from Tokyo. But *Time* of January 11 furnished an interesting sidelight on this story. Describing the New Year's Eve celebration of the pro-Communist Americans in the prison stockade near Panmunjom—this was before Batchelor announced his change of mind—*Time* says: "[Batchelor] was not as happy as he acted. Red rule in the North Camp had begun to wear on the nerves of Peace-Fighter Batchelor. He had been receiving tender letters from his Japanese wife (but the majority actually composed by Associated Press staffers in Tokyo). . . ."

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planning to "expose" him as the ringleader of the returning "pro's."

On top of all his other worries he was summoned to appear before the Velde committee late in November. When the White case proved to be a better headline-catcher, his hearing was postponed, but the ordeal of a session with the witch-hunters hangs over him. Even worse is the thought that he is branded "un-American" in the eyes of his family and neighbors. He has tried to convince his friends that there is no conflict between his beliefs and loyal Americanism. Many ideas the Chinese expounded were nothing "new" or "distorted," he says, but what he had always believed to be Christian and democratic. As he puts it, "I like ice cream. I can't think that just because the Chinese like ice cream, too, I've got to start disliking it. Nor can I accept the reasoning that says if we both like ice cream, that makes me Chinese."

Which way for Bennie Smith? Into the arms of the Communists for sure if all he gets for expressing his desire for a better America is charges of treason, intimidations, and proposals to commercialize his experiences.

G-MEN ON THE CAMPUS

The California Plan . . *by Walter Gerstel*

Berkeley, California

HOW much academic freedom will persist in our colleges and universities if the so-called "California plan" for fighting communism on the campus becomes "a model for other states," as Senator Jenner hopefully suggests? "More than twenty [California] colleges, both public and private," the Senator said recently, "have joined to eliminate present Communist teachers from their faculties and to prevent the infiltration of any new ones."

According to the *Daily Californian,* the official student newspaper of the University of California, the plan calls for the installation of "contact men" on the campuses to report to the committee on the "subversive" activities of administrations, faculties, and student bodies. State Senator Hugh Burns, who succeeded Jack Tenney as chairman of the California Un-American Activities Committee, which devised the plan, has told how it is expected to function: "If we have information about a Communist-front organization moving to a campus, we'll contact the contact man. If a notorious front-joiner is seeking a position, we'll inform the college on that man. Similarly, if the committee has any information about groups or individuals on campus which they suspect are subversive they will ask the contact man to investigate them."

WALTER GERSTEL is a writer who specializes in civil-liberties issues.

To understand the origin as well as the implications of this project it is necessary to recall the "loyalty oath" controversy which shook the University of California in 1950. Tenney, an assemblyman in 1949, touched off the oath fight when he introduced a bill in the legislature which would have virtually established legislative control over hiring and firing procedures at the university. To ward off passage of the bill the university administration voluntarily imposed an anti-Communist oath on all employees. Certain elements in the legislature, however, were not appeased, and early in 1952 Senator Burns met with the presidents of ten colleges and universities to outline to them the "contact man" program. According to a report of the meeting by President Sproul of the University of California, the Senator assured the administrators that he was not trying to set up a "Gestapo" and that the colleges could cooperate on a trial basis, but that his committee would criticize the institutions if they failed to act on the information supplied.

The plan aroused considerable suspicion on the Berkeley campus, and the *Daily Californian* said editorially:

> The duties of "contact men" are still a source of question. Burns has described them as the reporting of Communist and "other subversive activities." We have no precise definition of "subversive activities." Where does one draw such an important line at a time when even true liberalism is often viewed with suspicion. . . . We cannot at this point condone the action of the state's educational officials in accepting the nebulous Burns-committee program.

On September 30, 1952, the *Daily Californian* announced that Chancellor Clark Kerr had been appointed "contact man" for the university and commented:

> The program sounds . . . very much like a system of espionage . . . the duties of chancellor were left undefined when that post was originally offered to Kerr. He refused to accept it until the question was clearly settled. . . . We hope and believe he will exercise the same rigid test in the position of liaison man between the university and the Burns committee.

TIME PASSED without any clarification of his duties by Chancellor Kerr. Concerned about the situation, a group of graduate students attempted to circulate a letter on the campus asking for a public meeting at which Kerr could answer questions on the nature and scope of his new job. Circulation of this letter was banned by H. E. Stone, dean of men students, who suggested a personal meeting of the signers with Chancellor Kerr. At this meeting Kerr said he did not wish to discuss the "contact man" job publicly; evidently the administration feared the delicate relationship between the university and Senator Burns might be jeopardized.

How the contact-man system actually functioned remained a mystery until March 20, 1953, when California papers carried such headlines as "Senate Probes

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Report: 100 Red Teachers Fired from California Colleges." The stories below were based on testimony before the Internal Security Subcommittee of the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary (Jenner committee) given under oath by R. E. Combs, chief counsel of the California Un-American Activities Committee. In the published report of the hearings the duties of the contact man were defined by Mr. Combs as follows:

The committee deemed it expedient to indicate to the university administration the necessity, particularly in the larger institutions, of employing full-time people who had practical experience in the field of counter-Communist activities, ex-F. B. I. agents and ex-navy and military intelligence men. That has been followed.

On the major colleges and campuses in California such persons are working and have been for almost since last June. They maintain a liaison with our committee. We in turn make available to them the material that we have accumulated during fourteen years. But we soon found that it was even more necessary to prevent people from getting on faculties than it was to get rid of them once their positions became solidified.

So the committee developed a procedure whereby applicants for positions are referred to us, their names are, and if we do have any documentation concerning their Communist activity over a long period of time we make that available to the university as a guide to indicate whether or not the individual should be employed.

In describing the method of dealing with teachers already employed Mr. Combs said:

The documentation on the individual is given to the man on the campus whose full-time job it is to handle that type of matter as a liaison between the university and our committee. We meet with him if he believes that the man should be discharged, and we discuss the case. We analyze the type of front organization or organizations he belonged to, and the degree of activity that he took in it, the type of his associates, his activities in undercover meetings, and things of that type. We scrutinize the course to see whether he has reoriented it, to see if he made a medium of it for the dissemination of Communist propaganda. . . .

Then when we are in agreement on the fact that he should be discharged, that information is given to the president of the institution. He then calls the individual before him and confronts him with the documentation, and in all of the 100 plus, I don't remember the exact number, but I do know that there are more than 100, in no one of those cases has any individual refused to resign.

If he does refuse to resign, then the committee exercises its power of subpoena, places him under oath first in a closed hearing and then in an open hearing, but we have not had to do that since last June—because they have resigned.

Later in the hearings Mr. Combs described an individual case:

We had a man who was a witness before your committee and a very hostile one, and also a man of great academic prestige, who before this preventive system was put in operation last June succeeded in getting a position at a California university.

In reading his testimony before your committee we were convinced that he should not be a teacher in any university, and certainly not in California. So I wrote a letter to a member of the staff of your committee and obtained some supplemental information, gave it to the president of the university, and the man was discharged about ten days ago. He was in the department of political science, incidently. . . .

IN SPITE OF Combs's sworn testimony the university administrations involved flatly contradicted the committee's report. They found the situation particularly embarrassing because the program had been designed to operate, in the words of President Sproul, "without harmful publicity to individuals and institutions." In fact, the universities had accepted the contact-man plan, just as they had the loyalty oath, in order to turn aside threatened attacks by the legislature and escape harmful publicity.

Disregarding the fact that either the university officials or his chief counsel was not telling the truth, Senator Burns published a glowing account of the success of his plan in the seventh biennial report of his committee, released in May, 1953. He concluded:

The committee considers this cooperative enterprise between its staff and the colleges and universities in California a step of transcendent importance. By establishing constant liaison with the participating institutions, the information that has been collected by this committee over a period of almost fourteen years of continuous activity is made available to individuals who have been specially trained to evaluate it properly with due regard to the safeguarding of civil liberties and academic freedoms, as those terms are understood in their true senses. . . .

There is no spy plan. Each of the participating institutions handles its own individual problems with the assistance of the committee; there is no system of contact men who report to the committee on all levels of alleged Communist activities on the part of students, faculty, and administration.

Though Senator Burns's own version of his plan again contradicted Combs's sworn testimony, the Combs version was released to the press by Senator Jenner and repeated in a syndicated column by Fulton Lewis. The Combs testimony was given greater credence when it became known that a Mr. Wadman, formerly captain of the campus police and an F. B. I.-trained man, had been installed as "security officer" on the Berkeley campus at about the time that the contact-man program was announced. University officials say Wadman checks only people in jobs connected with government security (other than A. E. C., which has its own security officers), but he fits Combs's description of a contact man perfectly while Chancellor Kerr most certainly does not.

In this game of "now you see it and now you don't" both the universities and the legislature are apparently trying to steer a very narrow course between the McCarthyites on the one hand and the academic community on the other. Combs's testimony before the Jenner committee was intended to appease the McCarthys, Jenners, and Veldes and keep them out of Senator Burns's backyard. The university version and Burns's official report to the people of California were offered to allay the apprehension of people who would be aroused by any system of campus espionage.

As to the actual situation at the University of California at the present time, it is obvious that the contact-man program can function only in the way described by Combs to the Jenner committee. Furthermore, the university must be collaborating with Senator Burns, for he threatened to criticize it publicly if it did not. Because the program operates behind the scenes, it is still difficult to assess the damage it is doing. One thing, however, is certain. Appeasing McCarthyism does not work. As Elmer Davis said in a broadcast last winter, "If we come through it [legislative attacks on colleges] without too much damage, it will only be if university presidents realize that you never get anywhere with people like this by running away from them."

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BOOKS

Understanding Free India

AMBASSADOR'S REPORT. By Chester Bowles. Harper and Brothers. $4.

By Santha Rama Rau

TO MOST Indians at all concerned over relations between their country and America, perhaps the strangest thing about Chester Bowles's stay in India was the fact that for the first time they found themselves defending an American ambassador against the criticisms and doubts of Americans and explaining his actions and methods to bewildered foreigners. This curious reversal of roles was an indication of the success of one of America's most unconventional and most warmly admired envoys.

In his recent book, "Ambassador's Report," Mr. Bowles has written the story of the year and a half he spent in India partly as a personal diary of the impressions and activities of his family during that time and partly as an analysis of and report on the conditions and problems he encountered. In either capacity it is a truthful, thoughtful, and eminently readable book. There are a number of things in it with which Indians might argue, but such disagreement is healthy among friends—and the heartening quality of "Ambassador's Report" is that it is written by a critical but understanding friend.

In the autumn of 1951, the early days of their term in India, the Bowles family must often have felt very far from such understanding. Like those of so many travelers before them, their first impressions of India were discouraging. Poverty and dirt were disturbingly contrasted with the luxury of the foreigner's or rich Indian's life. The vast desert areas of India were only occasionally relieved by the hopeful green of successful cultivation. The Prime Minister was aloof and cool at his first meeting with the Ambassador. And as for the three Bowles children, they gloomily thought over the advice they had received in America that "the best Indians and all the Westerners" send their children away to Westernized schools in the mountains, and wondered how they would ever understand India from there.

Considering themselves "typical Americans," the Bowleses settled down in New Delhi much as they would have done in any unfamiliar town. They lived in an average four-bedroom house instead of the old American-embassy palace. They tried to make friends with their neighbors and paid formal calls on the people with whom they expected to work. On the insistence of the children they looked around for a good local school. They began to learn the language, and they tried to adapt their dress, food, and ways to local conditions. None of this sounds particularly revolutionary, and probably the Bowleses were as surprised by the ensuing uproar as the Indians were by their actions.

To a city like New Delhi, accustomed for years to the red carpets, the formality, and the distance of foreigners, the Bowleses could hardly have acted in a more astonishing or endearing way. Except for four young Indonesians, the Bowles children were the only foreigners among 1,300 students in the Delhi public school, where classes were held in "twenty-five ragged tents, with a health clinic in an old temple."

I can still remember the rather incredulous pleasure in the voice of an Indian social worker who had shown Mrs. Bowles the workings of a village cooperative. "Can you believe it? She greeted the villagers and asked them questions—*in Hindi!*" And even in their more immediate orbit the Bowleses managed to upset tradition by becoming the first ambassadorial family to invite the Indian members of their office force to social functions along with the American staff.

The Bowleses also found time to travel thousands of miles all over the country. As they talked to and made friends with India's leaders, as they visited villages, community projects, cooperatives, hospitals, or Communist-dominated areas, as they studied the Five-Year Plan, as they interviewed school teachers, farmers, and government workers, they began to understand the huge problems and the huge achievements of the Indian government as well as the complexity of the Indian attitude to America and the rest of Asia. They saw why Nehru says that "this generation of Indians is sentenced to hard labor."

They began to realize, too, the real size of their job and to comment on the curious emphasis in Washington that allots "for India, the largest free nation in the world with its nearly four hundred million people . . . fewer State Department employees than we had in Greece with her eight million people." Mr. Bowles goes on to compare the four billion dollars' worth of economic aid to Europe and the accompanying thousands of administrators with the tiny fraction of that amount allotted to Asia, excluding Japan, and the relative paucity of American personnel.

OUT OF THIS mass of experience Mr. Bowles attempts to isolate some of the problems and to indicate some of the attitudes that he considers most essential for a reasonable understanding of Asia and for mutual cooperation and trust. Very wisely he begins with a brief account of India's long and turbulent history, with especial stress on the years of British domination and colonial government. Later in his record he refers again and again to Asian sensitivity to any policy that seems to support foreign rule or imperialism. If, he writes, an Indian's "blood boils at the thought of others like himself, in other Asian and African lands, still imprisoned by foreign colonial rulers in the second half of the twentieth century because they dared to stand for freedom, it should be easy for Americans, of all people, to understand."

Beyond this general picture Mr. Bowles discusses India's own peculiar method of fighting colonialism and the influence of Gandhi both now and in the past on the hearts and minds of Indians. Coming to yet more recent history, he describes the emergence of India as the world's largest democratic power—the reforms, the constitution, and the amalgamation of the princely

SANTHA RAMA RAU is the author of "Home to India" and "East of Home." She is now living and writing in New York.

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states that made it so, and the "world's largest free election" that confirmed it. He sees the government as beset by problems of land reform, poverty, and industrial and agricultural development, by antiquated villages, overcrowded cities, and bitterly opposed political parties, and caught, besides, in the pressures between Asia and the Western world, but still trying to hold its own as a functioning democracy.

BUT IF ALL THIS is acute and comprehensive reporting, the most profound, original, and important section of Mr. Bowles's book—at least from the Indian point of view—is its discussion of "Nehru and the Mind of Asia." After the early days of aloofness, the American ambassador came to know India's Prime Minister both as a politician and as a friend and eventually became convinced "that what Nehru says, most free Asians think." Not that this section is an unqualified eulogy; in fact, Mr. Bowles raises, even for Indians, some difficult questions. "My repeated question, 'Who is likely to be Nehru's successor?' was met as often as not by an expressive shrug or an abrupt 'God knows.'" Or he says Nehru's personal popularity does not mean that "the people of India are satisfied with their lot or even with their leaders. On the contrary, most reports tell of growing dissatisfaction—of grumbling about land reform and other social improvements and about bungling and bureaucracy in the lower layers of government." Or, "Like that of most Indians, and Asians generally, Nehru's impression of capitalism has been distorted by the irresponsible speculation, wild profiteering, and monopoly control which characterized much of private business in colonial Asia."

However, for the first time an American of Mr. Bowles's stature has attempted to explain Nehru's difficulties, achievements, and importance to the Western world. He reminds his readers that "Nehru speaks as the head of the largest and most stable of free Asian nations," and that "he is one of the few statesmen in the whole underdeveloped world of more than a billion people who has really powerful mass support among his people." He points out to Americans that they are apt to read in their newspapers only those extracts from Nehru's almost daily speeches in parliament that are "quotable," and that although Nehru criticizes the Russians far more sharply, his expressed doubts of particular American attitudes and actions are what makes news in America. "It is understandable," he says, "that reading them as we do out of context, we who are making such sacrifices in defense of the free world should feel hurt and misunderstood. But it is immature and indeed ridiculous for us to jump to the conclusion that because he is not 100 per cent for us he is against us."

Since "What about Nehru and communism?" is the chief question in the minds of Americans with regard to Indian foreign policy, Mr. Bowles carries his argument farther and indicates the strong and unequivocal measures that India has taken to counter internal-security risks—far more stringent than any taken here. He details Nehru's angry attacks on the trouble-making attitude of the Communist members of Parliament, and further explains that "Nehru is essentially a conservative, in the good sense of desiring continuity of law and order and the preservation of worth-while traditions."

Although he feels that Nehru does not appreciate the full danger of an aggressive Russia, still he asks for the most careful consideration of Nehru's stand. "For we must make no mistake about it, when Nehru speaks on world issues, right or wrong, he expresses not only his own conviction but also the yearnings and the attitudes of the vast majority in free Asia and in Africa." This is a far-reaching statement and apparently Mr. Bowles means it most seriously, for he later adds, "For those in the West who deeply believe that political stability and democratic progress are essential to the world, I can think of no better path to an understanding of the new free Asia than an effort at sympathetic understanding of the mind and heart of Jawaharlal Nehru."

FOR AMERICANS, then, especially for the people on all levels who form the Asian policies of this country, Mr. Bowles translates his eighteen months of Indian experience and study into a constructive program. Among his chief suggestions are that Americans recognize the existence of an Asian point of view, that they study it, accept it, and work with it. In the end Asians will decide their own destiny, and efforts to badger or buy their governments can only damage the American cause.

It is not that Mr. Bowles underestimates the power of military aid or of the defense of strategic positions but rather that he places greater faith in "fireproofing the buildings" than in being preoccupied only with "putting out the fires." As he sees it, the future of Asia depends to a great extent on India's enormous democratic experiment. If it succeeds, "if India can bring bread and life and hope to her people, it will expose the Communist myth more than anything we can possibly do." But if it fails, no amount of military aid will keep the balance of world power from swinging toward Russia.

"Ambassador's Report" appears at a time of hurt feelings and misunderstandings—when American aid to Asia has been curtailed, when there is bitter distrust of American motives and actions in Asia and equally bitter criticism here of Indian policies and leaders. At any time Mr. Bowles's book would be an excellent, level-headed account of modern India, but at this particular moment it takes on singular importance to Americans and Indians alike.

New Books in Brief

The Health Service We Need

DOCTORS, PEOPLE, AND GOVERNMENT. By James Howard Means. Little, Brown–Atlantic Monthly Press. $3.50.

Until a couple of years ago Dr. James Howard Means had been for twenty-eight years professor of medicine at the Harvard Medical School and chief of the medical service at the Massachusetts General Hospital. Now, in the busy life of his "retirement," he publishes a book which courageously attacks the policies of the American Medical Association and strongly advocates comprehensive medical service and group medical practice in health-insurance plans. He declares that commercial-insurance-company plans and Blue Shield plans—the latter sponsored by the state and county

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medical societies and the A. M. A.—do not offer what the American people most need from health-insurance plans. What the people need, Dr. Means declares, is the medical services of general physicians and specialists. Such services will prevent disease as well as care for it, and will thus reduce wage losses due to sickness and the high costs of hospitalized illnesses, which can wreck a family budget.

"What-the-traffic-will-bear method of charging for medical service," Dr. Means declares, "is not in the best interest of either the patient or the doctor. It is noble business to equalize economic inequalities to some extent by soaking the rich, but it hardly seems a proper function for the medical profession. Rather it would seem a job for government to do by taxation."

Organized medicine headed by the A. M. A., says Dr. Means, is making a desperate effort to preserve fee-for-service payment and to prevent health insurance from becoming comprehensive. "Fee-for-service," Dr. Means goes on to say, "is scientifically indefensible, because it makes little if any provision for preventive medicine, and because it actually makes the patient reluctant to call the doctor even when really ill."

Dr. Means does not come out in favor of national health insurance but expresses the hope that through step-by-step methods we can attain the goal of making comprehensive medical service available to all. As a teacher of medical students for many years, he wants medical schools to broaden out so as to train doctors who understand the social and economic problems of the people as well as medical subjects.

Fifty Years in the Theater

THE DERWENT STORY. My First Fifty Years in the Theater in England and America. By Clarence Derwent. Schuman. $5.

At the age of eighteen the former president of Actors' Equity and the present head of ANTA ran away from a prosperous English home to become a paying apprentice in a touring company. This straightforward story of his career should appeal to anyone interested in either the good old days or in Broadway as it is. Mr. Derwent played with Benson in England and at the Manchester Repertory before coming to New York to stay in 1915. There is little evidence that he was ever interested in much outside the theater, but he has found plenty to interest him there off stage as well as on. It was during his presidency that Equity waged its long successful war against the National Theater in Washington, and Mr. Derwent gives a full account of that episode. There is an unusually good selection of photographs. Odd, though, that one who has no great admiration for the movies should have borrowed one of its most worn clichés for a title.

Liberty vs. Authority

PRINCIPIA POLITICA. By Leonard Woolf. Harcourt, Brace. $5.

The continuation of a study of "communal psychology" by a veteran English student of politics, two earlier volumes of which, entitled "After the Deluge," were published in 1931 and 1939. The purpose of the whole work is to examine "a historical process—the way in which human beings in the last two hundred years have been trying, with very poor success, to adjust their political institu-

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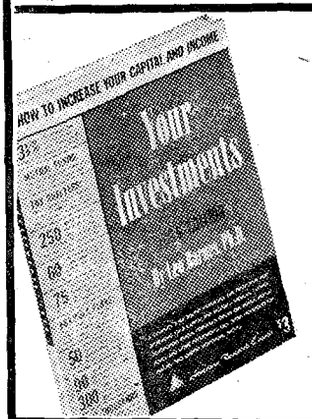

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tions to entirely new ways of living, to an entirely new society, that has grown inevitably out of the industrial and scientific revolutions."

In this volume, Mr. Woolf's main concern is with the contemporary pattern of the age-long struggle between liberty and authoritarianism. Analyzing the Nazi and Communist systems, he recognizes the great difference in their ends but finds a close resemblance in their development, because "in politics it is the logic of the means adopted, not the end aimed at, which inexorably determines events." Mr. Woolf not only regards all authoritarianism with horror but believes it cannot provide a "viable" government under modern conditions. "The dictator," he declares, "will either make his subjects so stupid, so ignorant of facts, so frightened of thinking for themselves that they will no longer be capable of performing their jobs efficiently, or they will remain sufficiently intelligent to endanger the stability of the regime."

Theater

Harold Clurman

THE Remarkable Mr. Pennypacker" by Liam O'Brien (Coronet Theater) is a comic chromo with a slight difference. The difference lies in the fact that it is somewhat wistful at the end and that it has a touch of "propaganda," by which I mean an ideological point.

The story is that of a bigamist in the '90's of the last century: a man who is a perfect father of two large and adoring families—one in Wilmington, the other in Philadelphia. The farcical aspect of the situation is heightened by the protagonist's ultra-straitlaced father, the strict propriety of the environment, and the additional circumstance that one of the daughters is about to be married to a minister's son who is himself a minister. The wistful note is struck—and it is odd that it should be so effective in this context—by the real sense of filial and paternal affection which is generated at the end of the play.

The author has made his bigamist a genial freethinker, a thoroughgoing rationalist, a liberal, a progressive—in every way a likable fellow. The point (or "propaganda") is to prove the fundamental rightness of traditional values of family morality. The innumerable children have been brought up to believe in reason and freedom: they love their papa but they are not at all satisfied by his libertarian action. They are willing to forgive him, but they think him wrong. Reason is all very well, the author implies, and the rebel is worthy of respect, but he is entirely mistaken because he fails to see that there is something greater than reason.

I found the play amusingly agreeable—others may find it hilarious, and still others inane—and the production with a cast of able and sympathetic actors—Burgess Meredith, Glenn Anders, Una Merkel, Michael Wager, Phyllis Love, and a host of charming kids—altogether pleasant.

Another new production that week was "Mademoiselle Colombe," which I directed. Since it was reviewed by Robert Hatch in the last issue of *The Nation,* I will limit myself to a few reflections of a more abstract character on Anouilh's play and certain American attitudes.

If there is a general tendency to be noted in our theater at the moment it is an unconscious drift on the part of the public and the reviewers who reflect its taste toward the sweet, the pleasant, the untroubled, the undisturbing, above all, the safe. Perhaps it may surprise some to call this a tendency, since audiences everywhere and at all times, it would seem, have preferred these qualities. But that is only partly true. In the twenties, for example, the "fun" period of American history, the outstanding playwright was O'Neill, and a play which won universal respect, if not success, was Elmer Rice's "The Adding Machine," a play about the nullity of the "average" man's life. It was a time too of bold theatrical experiment in ideas and stage forms.

This season our most "advanced" play is "Tea and Sympathy," the norm, "Sabrina Fair," and the unusual, "The Teahouse of the August Moon." The

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chief complaint against "Camino Real" last season was not that it was artistically defective but that it was pessimistic.

Though none of the current hits are realistic plays in the sense that "Beyond the Horizon," "The Little Foxes," "All My Sons," or even "Awake and Sing" are realistic, the public and reviewers nowadays hardly show an awareness of a free, poetic, or stylized treatment of reality. Thus a play like "The Teahouse of the August Moon," though basically toylike, humorous, pretty, and sentimental, is accepted as if it were an almost literal representation of the truth, that is, of familiar facts, whereas what it really presents is the wish and dream, in candied and jovial colors, of a harassed people who seek childlike solace for their worries.

Now "Mademoiselle Colombe" is a frankly stylized play in text and production, artificial in the exact sense of the term, but hardly any of the comments on it take note of this aspect, partly because of a certain astringency in the play's content. "Mademoiselle Colombe" —needless to say I do not intend my remarks as a critical estimate of it—is a play of contemporary meaning; its essential theme is the conflict or interplay of reality and illusion, the world and love seen as ideal or mirage and complex fact, presented in nearly *commedia dell 'arte* terms. Its central characters are only partly realistic figures: they are very much Pierrot and Columbine. The other characters are not so much sketches of types in the Parisian theater of 1900: they are clowns—Pantaloons, Punchinellos, Scaramouches—of the old comedy. The play is a tragic harlequinade. Farce and heartbreak commingle in an atmosphere of pure masque in which the author hopes to transform the drama of his thought and feeling into colorfully entertaining shapes at which we may laugh or cry at will in aesthetic pleasure.

This combination—eminently classic and Gallic—which is one of the prime hallmarks of the contemporary French theater, explains why the leading French playwrights of the past quarter of a century write in the "extravagant" vein of Giraudoux, Achard, Romains, Cocteau, Aymé, Anouilh. Giraudoux, who belongs to pre-war France, is gentler—though his posthumous play, "Pour Lucrèce," shows signs of an increasing acerbity—while Anouilh, who is markedly post-war, is more stinging. But all of them try, with a certain irony, to make life look like theater rather than, as with most Americans, theater look like life.

Records

B. H. Haggin

FOR many years the musicologists argued against "regarding a whole school or period as leading up to one or two outstanding figures, in whom all the virtues and qualities of their predecessors are presumed to be contained," and against performing only the music of these outstanding figures. They contended that the standard repertory of the concert hall was only "a small fraction of the master works of the past," and argued for performance of the large amount of equally fine music that it didn't include.

Well, in the last five years LP recording—mostly by the small companies—has made audible much of the music that previously wasn't performed or recorded; and some of it has indeed proved to be music we had been the poorer for not having known. But for the most part the newly revealed master works have been unfamiliar works of the outstanding figures rather than products of their unjustly neglected contemporaries: I recall a couple of charming quartets by Stamitz and Richter, but for the most part what comes to mind is Byrd's four-part Mass, Purcell's Pavane and Chacony and "The Fairy Queen," Couperin's First Tenebrae Service and Pièces en Concert, a couple of symphonies and a few sacred songs by K. P. E. Bach, Haydn's masses and unfamiliar quartets, Berlioz's "Nuits d'été," "L'Enfance du Christ," and "Les Troyens à Carthage."

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Haydn Society's set of six records (HSL-74/79) of works of eighteenth-century Italian symphonists performed by Newell Jenkins with the Italian Chamber Orchestra. The set succeeds in its purpose of showing "what kind of music a number of Italians of that period were writing": we hear that Albinoni, Sammartini, Pergolesi, Cambini, Galuppi, Giordani, Valentini, Viotti, and Rosetti were writing pleasant music, but not music of the consequence attributed to the works by Mr. Jenkins in his notes. Of the pieces that stand out, one is a concerto grosso arranged by Geminiani from the Sonata Op. 5 No. 2 of Corelli, something of a major figure of the period; and the only ones by an unfamiliar composer are two symphonies of Brunetti written in an arrestingly powerful idiom. Another major figure, Boccherini, wrote more impressive music than the Symphony Op. 35 No. 4 on the present record. The performances are good.

The Haydn Society also has issued a record (HSL-82) with several concertos and sonatas of Vivaldi—small in scale, but characteristically lovely and charming, and enchantingly played by five French musicians.

COLUMBIA has issued in its Collectors Series dubbings from 78 of Weingartner's performances of Mozart's Symphony K.543 (not released here previously, as far as I know) and "Eine kleine Nachtmusik"—the first with the London Philharmonic, the second with the London Symphony. The pacing and shaping of the works—including the real Andante tempo for the Romanze of "Eine kleine Nachtmusik"—are admirable; and the dubbed sound of "Eine kleine Nachtmusik" is sufficiently strong and bright but the symphony comes out dim and accompanied by noise from the old records. Haydn's Toy Symphony fills out a side.

Another record in the series gives us a dubbing of Beecham's superb 1940 performance of Mozart's Symphony K.338 with the London Philharmonic, reproduced with less fullness of sound than by the original 78s, but with better balance of less heavy bass and brighter treble. The sound becomes unclean near the end. On the reverse side is the 1938 performance of the Symphony K.201 which amazed one at the time with the ponderously slow tempos of the first movement and minuet, the barely possible slow tempo of the Andante; and those tempos still are amazing. For a critic there was the additional interest of certain comments elicited by the performance; and there still is. The 1941 edition of Kolodin's record guide contained this 12-carat, unflawed, perfectly cut example of the Kolodin method: "It has been my reaction, after hearing Beecham's more recent performances of this work, that the interpretation he recorded was a transitional one, tending toward the conception he holds today" —the fact being that these "more recent performances" had occurred only in Kolodin's statement. That statement didn't appear in the 1946 edition, in which Kolodin found the performance "lacking in animation of the sort I hear in the music"; and the LP dubbing has elicited the more characteristic finding that the performance is "a little complaisant in gait." And this, characteristically, doesn't prevent the generalization, set off by the performance of K.338, that "the Mozartian andante lives and breathes with more ease and expansiveness with Beecham than Toscanini."

Mozart's Divertimento K.334 for two violins, viola, cello, bass, and horns, a charming work with some wonderful writing in the variation movement, has been available in a superb performance of chamber-music dimensions by members of the Vienna Octet (London). Vanguard now offers another fine performance with the added sonority of a chamber orchestra from the Vienna State Opera and the beautiful violin tone of Jan Tomasow in solo passages, reproduced with more richness and spaciousness of sound.

Haydn's fine Symphonies No. 96 and 97 are played very beautifully by the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra under van Beinum (London). Violins lack fullness and sweetness and bass is heavy in No. 96.

When I first heard Copland's "Music for the Theater" in 1925 I was impressed by the piece itself and by the powers whose operation it exhibited; and I have been impressed in the same ways now as I have listened to it performed, in somewhat overblown fashion, by an orchestra under Izler Solomon (MGM). Music from Weill's "Dreigroschenoper" is on the reverse side.

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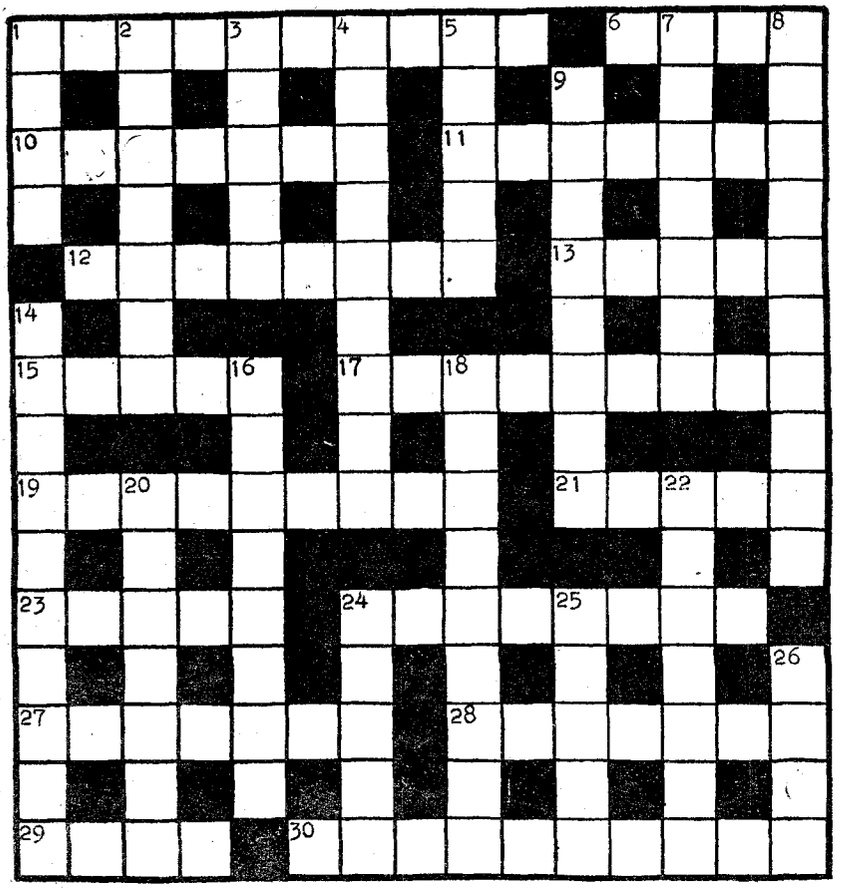
Crossword Puzzle No. 552

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 9 down. At one time a little X, doubly missing. (4, 6, 5, 3)
6 An unaspirated sort of 15 is not quite lean. (4)
10 The medicine takes time to spoil! (7)
11 Not then present, without being specific as to location. (7)
12 One of Aeolus' daughters, used to doing a good turn? (8)
13 Is it right to make such an assertion? (5)
15 Sharp instruments. (5)
17 Demanding. (9)
19 Not in particularly good shape, but urged to go to a football classic? (9)
21 This tick has an odd number of feet. (5)
23 One case where the nominative is bound to be possessive. (5)
24 Put in proper position to eat in front of it, it's to be imagined. (8)
27 Ran back in, when incorrectly seen about to catch something. (7)
28 A particular detail of honor. (7)
29 Associated with old-fashioned pants, in biblical quotation. (4)
30 See 4 down.

DOWN

1 Up, up go the ones many wanted to see go down! (4)
2 Your dog, perhaps, with a tail like 6 has, might be associated with mine. (7)
3 The growth of a historian, perhaps. (5)
4 and 30. Does it involve making a pet out of the mousy little thing? (3, 6, 2, 3, 5)
5 These birds are always found in other nests. (5)
7 Get ready to take off ahead of time? (7)
8 A summer hit, but a winter pain-in-the-neck, perhaps. (10)
9 See 1 across.
14 Habit possessed by distinguished people? (It caused the Ephraimites no end of trouble!) (10)
16 Was his job fixing things in the army? (8)
18 Cider shop where some people like to spend their evening. (4, 5)
20 Twists or ties, in the house perhaps. (7)
22 Sounds like a girl's warning to her drifting boy-friend, in the forest? (3, 4)
24 A slab of decomposed flesh. (5)
25 Nothing goes without change in the desert! (5)
26 Pack from one direction to another. (4)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 551

ACROSS:—1 ONE FOR THE ROAD; 10 TOPIARY; 11 SPORRAN; 12 GOUACHE; 13 EMERALD; 14 BLESSES; 15 STYRENE; 16 SHALLOP; 20 SHOT-PUT; 23 NERVINE; 24 DETRAIN; 25 SHOTGUN; 26 CAPITAL; 27 AT LOGGERHEADS.

DOWN:—2 NEPTUNE; 3 FRANCES; 4 RAYLESS; 5 HASTENS; 6 ROOKERY; 7 AIR LANE; 8 STAGE BUSINESS; 9 INADVERTENTLY; 17 AIRPORT; 18 LYING TO; 19 PFENNIG; 20 SIDECAR; 21 OCTUPLE; 22 PLAITED.

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